



EAST TIMOR

Alert Network News



INSIDE EAST TIMOR

In the wake of student protests during the visit of US ambassador John Monjo on 17 January, Indonesian Minister for Defense and Security General Benny Murdani arrived in Dili to quash the new signs of resistance. He told the Timorese to stop dreaming about having a state of their own. "In the past there were some small states," he said, "who wanted to stand on their own, and without hesitation, the Indonesian government took steps to stop that. There have been bigger rebellions.....ABRI may fail the first time, so it will try for a second time and a third time. We will crush them all! I repeat, we will crush them all!"

In spite of several deaths, disappearances and many arrests student and youth unrest continue to plague Indonesian officials both in East Timor and Indonesia. According to NEON MATIN, the clandestine Timorese student newspaper, the 25th of April, 1974 was commemorated for the 1st time this year by about 100 Timorese students in Bali. This is the date when Fascism was overthrown in Portugal and its policy towards its then colonies irrevocably altered. Three students were detained and violently beaten. They were released 5 days later when an International Red Cross official in Jakarta went to Bali to intervene on their behalf.

Schoolchildren in Dili raised the Fretilin flag and sang the nationalist hymn, Foho Ramelau, on 17 July, the day that is supposed to be celebrated as 'integration day' in East Timor. Troops and police rounded up and detained dozens of youngsters. Following intervention by the International Red Cross all except three were released.

Youth are also spearheading the "Kupan Pulang?" (when are you going home?) campaign. Aimed at unnerving what are seen as Indonesian intruders, military and civilian, youngsters as young as six years old are involved and roam in public places where Indonesians congregate and innocently ask: "Kupan Pulang?" Pak? Indonesian authorities have not yet found an answer to this spontaneous and decentralized campaign.

Murdani's visit heralded a sharp rise in military activity and repression in East Timor. Mid-March saw the deployment of some 40,000 Indonesian soldiers, 6,000 Timorese conscripts and two helicopter squadrons. (there are usually between 15 - 20,000 troops in E. Timor.) See enclosed map for guerilla actions against Indonesian forces from January to May 1990. On Jan.1st guerillas shot down an Indonesian helicopter carrying 4 Lieutenant Colonels, 8 Majors and the crew.

In April-May more than 100 Timorese civilians, mostly women and children were allegedly massacred by Battalion 712 in retaliation for the deaths of three Indonesian soldiers on 13 April. The Australian Council for Overseas Aid is calling for an official Australian investigation into the killings. Photographs of

a another massacre of civilians at Hauba were recieved by the Lisbon based group Peace is Possible in East Timor. There were around 52 victims both male and female. The photos were recieved via military personel who left the territory in 1988.

Four bodies were washed up on the beach near Dili, believed to be those of students involved in the January demonstrations who had "disappeared" in police custody. Many other killings and disappearances are reported throughout the countryside in Maubara, Lalerek-Mutin, Baucau, Samalari, Venilale, and other places.

INTERNATIONAL UPDATE

At the annual United Nations Decolonization Hearings held in New York the continued illegal occupation of E. Timor by Indonesia drew strong criticism from the international human rights community, the government of Portugal and members of governments from Japan, Australia, the U.K. and Canada. Indonesian student Hasjrul Junaid, representing three Dutch NGOs, waved his passport and gave a particularly moving speech, pointing out that his country, once a powerful anti-colonial force, had become a brutal colonizer itself.

Canadian M.P., Ray Funk, made a strong statement at the UN Hearings, asking why so many countries like Canada have supported Indonesia's violation of the UN Charter and even sold weapons to Indonesia. He said that an affirmation of the rights of the East Timorese is an important step in recognizing the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples all over the world to control their own affairs. This is the second time that a Canadian M.P. has gone to the UN Decolonization Hearings to support East Timor. Last year David Kilgore PC went. Now that Namibia is decolonized East Timor is the largest territory on the UN Decolonization list.

Some of the groups supporting East Timor were: International League for the Rights & Liberation of Peoples, Pax Christie International, Free East Timor Japan Coalition, Asia Watch, Amnesty International, Tapol, Peace is Possible in East Timor Lisbon, Catholic Institute for International Relations, the East Timor Alert Network - Canada and many more. No groups or governments supported Indonesia in the debate except Indonesia itself.

The Portugese Parliamentary visit which was to have taken place this Sept.- Oct. has been cancelled by Indonesia. The visit, which was to have included 16 journalists and meetings with the leadership of the resistance was considered far too risky by Indonesian generals who feared the support this event

could generate internationally for the East Timorese. The Timorese are deeply disappointed that the long awaited visit will not take place this year and are relying on the international community to continue pressure on Indonesia to allow a Portuguese parliamentary delegation into the country. Not since the Dec. 7, 1975 invasion have the Timorese been able to speak freely with the outside world. The Portuguese delegation was not required to have Indonesian visas because the UN recognizes Portugal, not Indonesia, as the administering power in East Timor.

Secretary General Perez de Cuellar was to have met with delegates from Parliamentarians for East Timor headed by Lord Avebury of the London Parliamentary Human Rights Group on August 31. The meeting was cancelled due to the emergency situation in the Gulf. Another meeting will hopefully be set up this fall. A delegate from the Canadian section of PET has been invited to participate. The purpose of the meeting is to urge the SG to include representatives of the Timorese in the UN talks between Portugal and Indonesia and to send a UN investigative team to East Timor. To date the SG has allowed the talks to go on since 1982 without Timorese participation and has not answered the letters by Timorese Bishop Belo asking for a referendum on self-determination to be held in the territory.

Portuguese President Mario Soares met with Pope John Paul II in Vatican City on April 27, 1990. He told the Pope that Portugal would never cease pressing for the independence of East Timor.

Dr. Cavaco Silva, the Portuguese Prime Minister, said on Sept. 14 " We have to go on putting pressure on the international community so that the people of E. Timor can have some hope of being able to decide their own future. All our ambassadors have clear instructions as how to proceed in making the connection between this violation of international law, (Kuwait) of which the world is fully aware, and that other violation which it sometimes wants to forget."

The Portuguese parliament has initiated, with funding from the Oriental Foundation, a National Timor prize to reward investigative work on the identity, history, international situation or future prospects for the Timorese people. The first prize will be 600 contos or \$4,000.00 US. (Diario de Noticia March 1990 Lisbon)

The Timor Gap Treaty, though completely illegal according to international law was ratified by the Australian parliament on May 29 with only 10 dissenting votes. But oil companies, such as leading Australian company, Broken Hill Proprietaries are worried about a possible legal challenge brought by Portugal to the International Court of Justice in the Hague. It is reported that

the Australian government has now ordered a review of its legal position and called for a second opinion by the Law Faculty of the University of Canberra. A group of international jurists at the University of Cambridge who specialize in international law have stated that in legal terms the agreement is invalid as it contravenes a number of internationally accepted norms and laws, not the least being East Timor's right to self-determination.

The Inter-governmental Group on Indonesia, an aid consortium of 17 western countries of which Canada is a member, gave US \$4.5 billion to Indonesia this year. Though Dutch Development Minister, Jan Pronk, promised that human rights would be taken into consideration, it was decided at the IGGI meeting that human rights were a matter for individual countries to raise. As in previous years Japan and the World Bank are the major donors along with the Asian Development Bank and the U.S. government. It is not known how much the government of Canada contributed this year.

In spite, or because of, these huge infusions of western funds into Indonesia, the poverty level continues to rise. According to the United Nations Development Program's HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX based on quality of life Indonesia rates a HDI of 0.591, below El Salvador HDI 0.651 and Sri Lanka HDI 0.789.

The International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), an organization representing 150,000 journalists in 50 countries, approved, during the course of its 20th Congress in Sardinia, Italy, a motion condemning Indonesia for its restricted access to East Timor and information coming from the territory. ETAN is lobbying the Canadian section of the IFJ to make known the concerns of the IFJ known to the Canadian government.

The Council of Europe accepted a resolution condemning the Indonesian occupation of East Timor by Portuguese MP Carlos Candal on May 9th. The Council is drawing up a report on the situation in East Timor scheduled to be presented in plenary by the Political Commission, probably before the end of the year.

The Socialist International, at its annual meeting in May in Cairo, reaffirmed its support for the self-determination of the Timorese people and adopted a strong resolution condemning Indonesia's continued illegal occupation of East Timor.

Portugal and Indonesia elected to UN Human Rights Commission. Portugal was elected, for a 2nd period of 3 years, to the western countries group of the UN Commission on Human Rights, which meets alternately in Geneva and New York. Indonesia was elected to the Asia group of the same commission.

An Asia Watch Report entitled "A Human Rights Update on Indonesia and East Timor" released in the US in April notes a deterioration in the overall human rights situation in East Timor during 1989.

The Lawyers Committee of the US has strongly criticised Washington's position regarding human rights violations in East Timor in a recently released report. Likewise, Professor Mark Cammack, a US legal expert specializing in Indonesian affairs criticised the Bush Administration's position on human rights in Indonesia as "inadequate". Donald Camp, from the East Asia bureau in the US State Department said that George Bush wholly supports the "incorporation" of East Timor into Indonesia.

US interest in air base in East Timor? After reports in the Australian press that the US is considering opening an airbase in Darwin to replace one of the two it is likely to lose in the Philippines, Joao Severino, Sydney correspondent for the Lisbon Radio station TSF, speculated that this could imply the use of the military airstrip at Baucau for flight stopovers by US planes as there had already been trial landings there, to this end. TSF contacted the US State Department who confirmed that the USAF does use Indonesian military airstrips.

MURDANI ON KUWAIT. General Benny Murdani, commander of the invasion of E. Timor in 1975 and in charge of military operations there for many years, has spoken out against Iraq's seizure of Kuwait. Asked by a member of Parliament about Indonesia's stand on the Kuwaiti invasion, Murdani said: "I think Indonesia's position is clear. Indonesia regrets the seizure of small countries by large countries." (Kompas 12 Sept.1990)

IN CANADA

Bill Ripley, a computer programmer at Queens University in Kingston, went on a 45 day hunger strike in March of this year to protest Canada's support for the systematic Indonesian genocide of the peoples of East Timor and West Papua. He recieved fairly good media coverage in Ontario and thanks to the help of Peter Eglin, a professor at Sir Wilfed Laurier University, the item was mentioned on 100 syndicated radio stations. The Alma Mater society at Queens University voted to establish a donations review panel after INCO, a Canadian multinational notorious for its collaboration with the Indonesian military, donated \$1 million to the engineering faculty's mining department. Bill's strike ended with a protest outside of the Indonesian Embassy in Ottawa attended by about 50 demonsrators. Though Bill's hunger strike was criticised by some media and politicians as too coercive a way to raise an issue it was very successful in rais-

ing the awareness of Canadians about their governments complicity in crimes against humanity in a part of the world that is not on the media and political agenda.

Canadian Embassy representatives visited East Timor 19 - 28 of December 1989. Their report is available from External Affairs who continue to endorse and support the illegal occupation of East Timor. This report, like many others, is a cynical manipulation of the true situation in East Timor and serves the propaganda purposes of Indonesia admirably in the international community. External still refuses to hear and take into account the abundant documentation that exists worldwide on the critical human rights situation in E. Timor and instead of assisting international efforts to free the territory from Indonesian control External systematically downgrades and sabotages these efforts at every opportunity.

VISION TV will air a program this fall on East Timor done by Quebec CBC Nord-Sud. The program will be aired:
Nov. 26. 7:00 p.m. and midnight
repeated Tuesday 10:00 a.m. and 3:00 p.m..

ACTIONS

1. Parliamentarians for East Timor, the international group of 230 members worldwide needs more members in Canada. So far have 13. This is not enough to get motions through caucus or to get External Affairs critics to speak out. We have to get more members signed up as support for the active members of the Canadian section of PET. Ask your M.P. to join. Forms are available from Ray Funk's office or ETAN.
2. December 7, the date of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor is coming up. Letters to the editor, M.P.s, articles in grassroots publications are in order and if you near an Indonesian consulate or university with relations the Indonesian regime stage some kind of public protest and inform the media of your actions. Indonesia and External spend hundreds of thousands of dollars on Indonesia's image, much of which can be easily undone by a few informed diligent public protests.
3. LETTERS ___ to Portugal urging them to take the matter of the Timor Gap Treaty to the World Court. Now that Indonesia refused a Portuguese delegation into East Timor it is time pursue a more assertive stand on the issue. Send your letters to the Portuguese embassy in Ottawa and they will be forwarded to the proper people in Portugal. Its important that the Embassy here feel some support for Portugal's principled stand on E. Timor.

Ambassador Joao Matos Pronca
Atten: Consellor Francisco da Silva
645 Island Park Drive,
Ottawa, Ont. KIY 0B8

----- if you want to write to President Soares or Prime Minister Cavaco Silva and encourage them to continue a strong stand on East Timor write to:

Dr. Mario Soares,
President of the Republic
Palac Belem, Pr A Albuquerque
1300 Lisbon, Portugal

Dr. Cavaco Silva
Prime Minister of Portugal

___ write to the Pope and ask him why he hasn't answered Bishop Belo's letter and why he supports independence for the Baltic states and not for E. Timor??

His Holiness Pope John Paul II
Vatican City,
Rome, Italy

___ write to Perez de Cuellar and ask him why he hasn't yet replied to Bishop Belo's letter about a referendum on self-determination in East Timor and why representatives of the Timorese people have not been included in negotiations over the future of East Timor held under the auspices of his office since 1982. If the UN can take a strong stand on the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, why not on East Timor??

His Excellency Perez de Cuellar
Office of the Secretary General
United Nations
New York, New York, 10017

Information for this newsletter is taken from the following publications which members are advised to subscribe to for regular updates on events in East Timor and Indonesia.

NEWSBRIEFS information about the situation inside East Timor.
Jose Manuel Gomes Guterres
Rua Caetano Alberto, 19
1000 Lisboa, Portugal 10.00 US per annum monthly

EAST TIMOR MONTHLY MEMO NEWS published by two Portugese NGOs, very comprehensive, news, analysis, international actions etc.
R. Pinheiro Chagas, 77 - 2 E
1000, Lisbon, Portugal 100.00 US per annum monthly

TAPOL The Indonesia Human Rights Campaign
up-to-date news and analysis on events inside Indonesia, East Timor and West Papua. coordinates the activities of PET.
111 Northwood Road, Thornton Heath,
Surrey CR7 8HW, U.K. 20.00 US per annum 6 issues

INSIDE INDONESIA bulletin of the Indonesia resources and information program. glossy, photos, journalistic and scholarly.
P.O. Box 190,
Northcote 3070, Australia 15.00 AUD per annum 4 issues

IMPORTANT NOTICE.....WE WISH TO UPATE OUR MAILING LIST AND WILL NOT SEND ON THE NEXT NEWSLETTER UNLESS WE RECIEVE AT LEAST \$5.00.

EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK

box 354, Ladysmith, B.C., Canada V0R 2E0 (604) 245-3068

NEW RESOURCES available from ETAN

The Indonesian Occupation of East Timor, 1974-89 by John Taylor. Hardback, photos, excellent resource. 30.00 CAN

Timorese music and songs by Timorese activist and musician Agio Pereira living in Australia. "I'm Still Fighting" combines the best of traditional Timorese music with the present day struggle of the Timorese people. English & Tetum. 15.00 CAN.

AMPO Japan-Asia Quarterly Review special issue on Indonesia. Can be ordered from ETAN. good analysis of the Suharto regime and future prospects for East Timor and West Papua. 4.00 CAN

PAPERS; 2.00 plus postage

"A Glean of Light in Asia" by Noam Chomsky on the role of the US government in the 1965 slaughter that brought the Suharto regime to power. 15 pages

Text of speech by General Murdani in East Timor on Feb. 3, 1990.

Speeches by Ray Funk, Indonesian student Hasjrul Junaid, Amnesty International, TAPOL, and other at the UN Decolonization Hearings in August of 1990.

STILL IN STOCK

Timor, A People Betrayed by James Dunn, former Australian Consul in East Timor and internationally recognized expert on E. Timor. 22.95 includes postage.

East Timor, the Hidden War. booklet by the Australia East Timor Association. 3.75 includes postage.

FREE EAST TIMOR! buttons 1.00 .50 for bulk orders.

Pamphlets outlining the involment of the Canadian government in the ongoing suffering of the Timorese people.

Audio-visual:

East Timor: Betrayed But Not Beaten by Peter Monet. 30 min. VHS, includes debate on E. Timor in the Canadian parliament. sale \$50 rent \$5.

Military Rule In Indonesia and the Abuse of Human Rights by TAPOL, 18 min. VHS, good general introduction to Indonesia, sale \$35 rent \$5.

Buried Alive by Gil Scrine. 60 min. VHS, in depth documentary including events leading up to the Indonesian invasion of E.Timor, rent only \$35.

Timor 'wipe out' threat

By MARK BAKER

The Indonesian military has warned it is ready to "wipe out" further dissent in East Timor after a wave of student protests during the past four months.

The Defence Minister, General Benny Murdani, has told a meeting of government leaders in the Timorese capital, Dili, that the army will crush further challenges to Indonesian control of the former Portuguese territory.

"All of these movements we can absolutely finish up, wipe out. We can take care of them all," he said.

"If someone makes a movement for an independent nation and that movement is strong enough, then the armed forces will destroy it."



Benny Murdani

General Murdani — regarded as the most powerful man in Indonesia after President Suharto — made the threat at a closed meeting early last month attended by the provincial governor and senior regional officials.

HERALD 11/3/90

A secret tape recording of his speech was passed to *The Sunday Herald* in Dili last week.

General Murdani flew to Timor in response to concern within the Indonesian Government at youth unrest since a visit to the territory last October by Pope John Paul.

General Murdani accused some senior officials of being "traitors" who actively supported the Fretilin guerrillas and paid student dissidents.

"Any effort to separate East Timor from the Indonesian nation will be met solidly. We won't stand for it," General Murdani said.

"There will be no independent East Timor. There is no Timorese nation, there is only the Indonesian nation. Don't

even dream about a nation of East Timor. Don't even talk about a nation of East Timor."

General Murdani told his stunned audience he knew "which of you was Fretilin and which of you didn't become good" and those "present now" still supporting the guerrilla leader, Xanana Gusmao, and his estimated 400 fighters.

General Murdani said the people of Timor had to forget the struggles of the past and that they were now part of Indonesia.

"It's time to leave the old grudges. Just because your brother died doesn't mean you have to avenge him. Put that behind you."

Page 9: Teenage face of Timor's desperation.

SYDNEY HERALD
AUSTRALIA

THE JAKARTA POST

06/03/90

BUSINESS

Canadian investment mission

JAKARTA (JP): A Canadian investment and trade mission arrived in Indonesia on March 4 for a six-day visit to pursue business investment opportunities and to arrange import deals for Indonesian products.

The mission is jointly organized by the Canadian Indonesian Business Council and the Indonesia-Canada Business Council.

The Canadian companies interested in investment opportunities are Nexus Engineering Corporation (communication equipment); West Coast Engineering Ltd. (metal poles and street lighting); Altero Technologies Inc. (exercise equipment and packaging material); and Homestead Computer Services Ltd. (computerized trading systems).

Mission members interested in importing Indonesian goods to Canada are the Hudson Bay Company (men's, ladies, and children's sportswear and outerwear), and Gilbert International Inc. (manufactured food products such as drinks, fruits, tuna and other canned goods).

Individual appointments have been arranged with a number of private Indonesian companies as well as appropriate government and business organization officials.

Canada - Indonesia trade figures in 1989 are estimated to be over C\$500 million.

Canadian companies have invested more than C\$1 billion in the Indonesian economy in mining, manufacturing, oil and gas and financial services.

A new NGO on Indonesian affairs in the US

By the end of 1990, a new independent non government organisation will be set up in Washington DC to engage in critical monitoring, research and public advocacy on a broad range of policy issues facing contemporary Indonesia. Currently, no such organisation focused solely on Indonesia's political, human rights, economic, environmental, and social problems exists in the US. The organisation expects to cooperate with other NGOs not solely concerned with Indonesia but working on one or another aspect of Indonesian affairs.

The new body, which will share the premises and facilities of Indonesia Publications, is currently looking for people with skills in the area of lobbying and public

relations, and who are able to help in establishing domestic and international media contacts and who are used to working with a range of NGOs and individuals in Indonesia and elsewhere outside the US. People with language skills in Indonesian, Dutch or Portuguese would be especially welcome.

Persons anywhere in the world who wish to become involved should write, phone or fax:

John A. MacDougall

Editor, Indonesia Publications

7538 Newberry Lane, Lanham-Seabrook, Maryland,

20706, USA

Ph: (301) 552-3251

Fax: (301) 552-4465

WOKEN at 6 am. Irons his clothes

Top-secret talks held (Australia) on East Timor 'trauma'

SUNDAY HERALD 29/4/90 p2

By PETER MARES

The Indonesian Government has suppressed a controversial seminar on East Timor which revealed the territory was still undergoing a "war economy" and was permeated by "the trauma of integration".

The findings, by a group of Indonesian academics, are in contrast to the official government line that the transition is proceeding smoothly.

Last week the Indonesian press reported that the seminar, planned for the East Timorese capital, Dili, had been postponed indefinitely.

But according to sources in Indonesia, it was held behind closed doors and attended by military officials.

No reason was given for the postponement, which came after Jakarta's leading daily, *Kompas*, published highlights of a report on development in East Timor.

The seminar was organised to discuss the report, prepared by sociologists, anthropologists and economists from Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, Java.

Their work represents the most frank assessment of the situation in East Timor to find public circulation in Indonesia. It adds weight to criticisms made by people outside the country.

The report speaks repeatedly of the Indonesian military presence in East Timor as an "overdose". It says government officials are surprised when they find the Timorese enthusiastic about building a church, but indifferent to building a pipeline for fresh water. Despite the urgent need for an improved water supply, local people are apathetic to any initiative by the Jakarta Government.

The skilfully worded report praises the Indonesian Government for the rapid development of physical infrastructure in East Timor over the past decade: roads, health centres and schools in every district.

However, it also points to "a rejection of the symbols of Indonesian development" by the East Timorese, and notes that they are more likely to put their trust in the Catholic Church.

The report offers proposals for change. Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor is never questioned, but the recommendations amount to a call for demilitarisation. It calls for those forced to leave fertile lands in remote areas over the past 14 years as a means of controlling independence-movement guerrilla activities, to be allowed to return.

The authors point to changes in the military command structure in East Timor last December as an example of the kind of "positive thinking" required. The changes strengthened the role of the Timorese civilian Governor, Mario Carrascalao.

Other suggestions are for a direct air link between Dili and Darwin and the formation of a powerful senior advisory committee which would include the Bishop of Timor and a number of priests of his choosing.

Among those attending the closed-doors seminar were high military officials, including Lt-Gen. Harudiono Hartas, a deputy of the armed forces chief of staff, and Maj Gen. Sintong

Pandjatan, commander of the military region from Balli to Timor.

The seminar and the university research on East Timor was sponsored by Bank Indonesia and the local Development Planning Council.

According to Indonesia specialist Dr Herb Feith, from the Centre for South-East Asian Studies at Monash University, the report and the seminar represent an initiative by "the dove sections" of the Indonesian Government to get their views on to the public agenda.

Dr Feith has just returned from a two-month stay in Jakarta. Asked why he thought the seminar had to be held behind closed doors, he replied:

"Basically because the main military intelligence agency is determined to put the brakes on the opening-up process in East Timor. The report certainly hits at a number of army interests."

Peter Mares is presenter of the *Indian Pacific* program on ABC Radio National.

Indonesia accused of Timor massacre

By ROY ECCLESTON

AUST 27/6/90

A LONDON-based human rights body yesterday accused the Indonesian Government of killing up to 200 villagers as part of a new crackdown on dissent in the province of East Timor.

The allegations, made by Tapol - the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign - were immediately dismissed by the Indonesian embassy as "baseless".

Mrs Carmel Budiardjo, secretary of Tapol, will put her claims to the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, Senator Evans, in Canberra this morning.

Senator Evans is likely to tell Mrs Budiardjo that Australia's Ambassador to Indonesia, Mr Phillip Flood, will investigate human rights questions, and the military situation, in a visit to East Timor next month.

Mrs Budiardjo, claiming to

have reliable sources in East Timor, said the crackdown involved an extra 25,000 troops, on top of the 12-15,000 she claimed were already stationed there.

She said 100-200 villagers from Lour in the south-west of the province were killed earlier this year, as part of a move to suppress dissent in the run-up to a possible visit by parliamentarians from Portugal - the former colonial administrator of East Timor - later this year.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, following the outbreak of a civil war.

Reliable observers in Jakarta told *The Australian* late last year there were 12-15,000 military and militia in the province, with a further 9000 combat troops in a dozen fighting battalions, including three platoons of special forces.

Group claims Timor killings

By SONYA VOUMARD,
Canberra

AGE
27/6/90

The Australian Coalition for East Timor said yesterday there were reports that Indonesia had launched a renewed military offensive in East Timor and that at least 100 people had been killed since Easter.

Ms Carmel Budiardjo, the secretary of the International Parliamentarians for East Timor (which includes members of the Australian Coalition), said that according to resistance sources in East Timor, 40,000 Indonesian troops had mounted an offensive to capture the leadership of the nationalist resistance,

Fretilin, ahead of a visit to East Timor by a Portuguese parliamentary delegation in September.

Ms Budiardjo said human rights violations in East Timor continued "at an alarming rate". She expected to raise the issues with the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, at a meeting today.

A spokesman for Senator Evans said last night he would prefer not to comment on reports of Indonesia's activities in East Timor, if at all, until after Senator Evans had met with Ms Budiardjo.

Ms Budiardjo said she would urge the Federal Government to do more to monitor the military and human rights situations in East Timor.

REF TLO 934

A TOURIST IN TIMOR

April 1990

We soon realise that we have arrived in East Timor. At Batugade the bus stops. Everyone must show their I.D. cards. A catholic nun shakes her head in disgust. Then 5 minutes later at Mataain. Last year I witnessed a Balinese policeman beating up a Timorese truck driver who had wanted to pay a bribe of cigarettes instead of money at this post. Another Balinese policeman has taken his place.

Another 5 minutes in the bus and then the third roadblock within the first 10 kilometres of East Timor. Again everyone alights. This time the policeman in charge calls the name on each card and the owner comes forward and is compared with the photo.

I ask a boy what his name is. A Balinese policeman 'jokes' "Anak black - black boy". Both the boy and I ignore the racist cop. My friend takes a photo much to the chagrin of the officer in charge of the roll call. As we pass Liquisa a little later in the afternoon we see a Timorese man staggering along the road, his face covered in blood. The people on the bus are more subdued now. The feel and threat of violence unnerves tourist and Timorese alike.

I meet a French tourist who has been in East Timor for 4 weeks already. He travels where he likes and takes photos of whatever touches him. In East Timor there is much that burns at the hearts of people who are used to freedom.

Pierre tells of his walking in the mountains. "I stayed in a village where there were no military. The people, as is common in the area, eat mice. At this village, however, there was nothing else to eat. They tried to hide the fact that they lived on mice. When I walked into a hut where the mice were kept they looked embarrassed".

At night Pierre watched the exhilarating traditional dance of East Timor. He was urged to join in but could not keep up. Language was a problem but communication was not. Later we are told that the dance is prohibited "an activity of the jungle people". When he arrived at the provincial town he was told that walking on tracks other than public roads was not permitted. He stayed with the local commander. He asked two soldiers how many they had killed "Five" the first soldier said proudly. The second hung his head in shame. "Only one" he said with embarrassment. Late at night he heard gunfire. "The military and police were fighting" he said.

Feb 11/90

East Timor Bishop Reports Torture And Pleads That Lisbon Intervene

Special to The New York Times

LISBON, Feb. 10 — In a letter carried here clandestinely, a Catholic bishop in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor has described the human rights situation there as intolerable and has criticized Portugal and the United Nations for failing to intervene on behalf of the Indonesian-occupied territory.

"Portugal hopes that time will solve the problem, but meanwhile we are dying as a people and a nation," said the Bishop, Msgr. Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, who is under strong pressure from the Indonesian military authorities in East Timor.

Indonesia, which is overwhelmingly Muslim, forcibly annexed the predominantly Roman Catholic territory after Portugal withdrew in 1974.

Monsignor Belo's letter, which took seven months to reach Portugal, was delivered to Bishop Manuel Martins of Setúbal, a major industrial city south

seeking a negotiated settlement in East Timor since the territory was invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

Portugal withdrew from East Timor as part of a rapid dismantling of its colonial empire. The United Nations still recognizes Portugal as the administering power, but Monsignor Belo told Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar that the United Nations had yet to discharge its responsibilities toward the territory.

"The East Timorese have never been consulted about their political future," he said.

Ruled at 'Pistol Point'

In the letter described this week, Monsignor Belo said the people of East Timor were forced to accept Indonesian rule "at pistol point," and that he was being subjected to harsh and humiliating attacks by the Indonesian authorities.

"However, the majority of the population is well aware of the maneuvers practiced by the Indonesian Government and military authorities," he wrote. "The Christian population prays" and "waits for the happy day when people can express their aspirations as free men. Monsignor, pray for me. From one day to the next I could follow the path of Bishop Romero."

From the time he was appointed bishop of East Timor in 1983, Monsignor Belo has faced pressure from the East Timorese nationalist movement, known by the Portuguese name Fretilin, as well as from the Indonesian authorities. Supporters of Fretilin and young Catholic radicals initially accused the bishop of being an agent of the Indonesian Government, but Monsignor Belo soon proved to be as outspoken as his predecessor, Martinho Lopes da Costa, who was ordered by the Vatican to retire after Indonesia complained that his sermons fomented nationalist sentiment.

Monsignor Belo's strongest statement was a pastoral letter in December 1987, in which he accused the Indonesian military of regularly practicing torture. He dismissed claims that human rights abuses had ended in Timor as "lying propaganda."

An 'Intifada' Emerges

Since the Pope's visit on Oct. 12, when a melee broke out as students demonstrated for independence, East Timorese persecuted by the police have sought refuge in the Bishop's residence. There are unconfirmed reports that his house was raided by the military in November and that students were removed by force.

Reports from Fretilin released through the movement's office in Lisbon suggest that a new movement de-



The New York Times/Jan. 11, 1990

The Pope visited Dili after a letter on rights abuses was written.

'We are dying as a people and a nation.'

of Lisbon, and he read excerpts on national television this week. The letter was written on June 7, four months before Pope John Paul II visited Dili, East Timor's main commercial city.

Bishop Martins said by phone from Setúbal that the letter had been "carried by many hands" and reached him through members of a religious order.

In the letter, Monsignor Belo said he feared he might suffer the same fate as Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, the Salvadoran primate assassinated in 1980.

Persecution and Torture

"The situation of the East Timorese is absolutely unthinkable, from the point of view of persecution, torture," Bishop Martins said after reading the letter. "The East Timorese are profoundly isolated and their bishop is profoundly isolated. Many things have been promised, and many hopes created, but it seems there's no morals in politics. Moral principles are invoked only as currency, as means to an end."

The Timorese bishop asked Bishop Martins to press the United Nations Secretary General, Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, to reply to a letter that he wrote to him in February 1988. Monsignor Belo complained then that Portugal had not been sufficiently active in

scribed as "the Timorese intifada" has emerged in East Timor since the Pope's visit. Unarmed members of the movement, which is modeled on the Palestinian uprising in the Israeli-occupied territories, have reportedly risked death on three recent occasions in direct confrontations with the Indonesian military.

A Fretilin spokesman in Lisbon, Abilio de Araujo, said an Indonesian soldier was killed on Dec. 26 when a Timorese grabbed his rifle and shot him during a student demonstration in Ball.

On Jan. 17, students reportedly confronted the United States Ambassador to Indonesia, John Monjo, when he was staying at a hotel in Dili. They unfurled pro-independence banners and used a megaphone to shout their grievances until soldiers arrived and dispersed them. After students threw stones at the soldiers, the troops are said to have attacked them with bayonets and rifle butts, causing at least one death.

The uprising appears to mark a shift by the Timorese resistance, which since 1975 has mainly concentrated on the guerrilla struggle in the mountains, with only passive resistance from civilians in the cities.

APPENDIX 2

TRANSLATION OF A LETTER FROM
BISHOP BELO, APOSTOLIC ADMINISTRATOR OF DILI.

Dili,
27 June 1989.

D. Manuel Martins,
Bishop of Setubal,
Portugal.

Excellency,

Please accept my sincere and respectful regards.

In this letter I would like to thank you for the help your excellency has given to us, the people of Timor. Thank you. We still need your support.

I am writing to ask you kindly if you would be able to obtain from the United Nations Secretary General a reply to my letter of 6 February 1989 since I have not received any answer up to the present moment. The ministers in the Indonesian government have made bitter and humiliating criticisms. The so-called Timorese "MP's", both at the local and the national level, were forced at gun-point to draft and sign a Declaration in which they stated that they accept integration and that therefore the decolonisation process has already taken place. But the majority of the people know all about the manoeuvres of the military and of the Indonesian government.

The Christian people pray, while hiding letters under the statues of the Saints, and hope that the happy DAY will come when they can freely express their aspirations as free men. Excellency please pray for me because from one day to the next I may meet the same fate as Monsigneur Romero.

Your brother in Christ,
Mgr. Carlos Filipe X. Belo,
Bishop Tit. of Lorium,
Apostolic Administrator of Dili.

[N.B. Bishop Belo's letter to the UN of 6 February 1989 was sent to the Bishop of Setubal for transmission to New York.]

EAST TIMOR

3/90
(FRETELIN's flag
was hoisted after an
attack that caused several
deaths and wounding)

3/1/90
(9 deaths)
2/90
(6 deaths)
3/90 (7 deaths)
5/90

5/90
3/90 (11 deaths)
2/90 (8 deaths)

3/90

4/1/90
(a helicopter was shot down
killing 4 Lieutenant Colonel,
8 major and the crew)

4/1/90
(a helicopter was shot down killing 2 captain
a paramilitary commander and the crew).

3/90
(2 deaths)
2/90 (4 deaths)

4/90
(2 deaths)

3/90
(8 deaths) and 12
wounding)

3/5/90
(7 deaths)

SOME GUERRILLAS MILITARY ACTIONS
AGAINST THE INDONESIAN FORCES
SINCE JANUARY TO MAY 1990

0 25 50 75 100
Scale (Kilometres)

GIF / June 90

T E R R I T O R I E S

WITH WHICH THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE IS CONCERNED (1989) ON DECOLONIZATION

Administering Authority and Territory	Area (Sq. Km.)	Population* (Approx.)
France		
New Caledonia ¹	19,103	153,000
New Zealand		
Tokelau	12	2,000
Portugal		
East Timor ²	14,925	659,000
Spain		
Western Sahara ³	266,000	155,000
United Kingdom		
Anguilla	96	7,000
Bermuda	53	56,000
British Virgin Islands	153	13,000
Cayman Islands	260	20,000
Falkland Islands (Malvinas)	11,961	2,000
Gibraltar	4.8-5.8	31,000
Montserrat	103	12,000
Pitcairn	452 hectares	57
St. Helena	412	6,000
Turks and Caicos Islands	500	8,000
United States		
American Samoa	197	35,000
Guam	510	114,000
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands	1,854	161,211
U.S. Virgin Islands	343	105,000
United Nations		
Namibia ⁴	824,269	1,550,000

* United Nations, *Demographic Yearbook*, 1985 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E/F.86.XIII.1)

¹ On 2 December 1986, the General Assembly, by adopting resolution 41/41 A, considered that, in light of the provisions of Chapter XI of the United Nations Charter and Assembly resolutions 1514(XV) and 1541(XV), New Caledonia was a Non-Self-Governing Territory within the meaning of the Charter.

² On 6 April 1979, Portugal informed the Secretary-General, that conditions still prevailing in East Timor had prevented it from assuming its responsibilities for the administration of the Territory.

³ On 26 February 1976, Spain informed the Secretary-General that as of that date it had terminated its presence in the Territory of the Sahara and deemed it necessary to place the following on record: Spain considers itself thenceforth exempt from any responsibility of an international nature in connection with the administration of the Territory, "in view of the cessation of its participation in the temporary administration established for the Territory".

⁴ In 1966, the General Assembly terminated South Africa's mandate over South West Africa and placed the Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations. In 1968, the Assembly declared that the Territory would thenceforth be known as "Namibia", in accordance with the desires of its people. In 1978, the Security Council adopted resolution 435 (1978), incorporating the United Nations plan for Namibian independence. In February 1989, the Security Council adopted resolution 632 (1989), which decided to implement its resolution 435 (1978) in its original and definitive form. The implementation of resolution 435 (1978) began on 1 April 1989 with the emplacement of the United Nations Transitional Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia.

Students fasting three days

KINGSTON, Ont. (CP) — Eight public and high school students in Kingston, Ont., have begun rotating three-day fasts to support local hunger striker Bill Ripley in his protest of Canada's ties to Indonesia.

The 27-year-old computer programmer has been on a hunger strike since March 7. He wants Canada to break its economic and political ties to Indonesia over that country's treatment of the people living on the islands of East Timor and West Papua.

"It's only for three days, it's not going to kill me. There's people dying all over the world," said 15-year-old Stephanie Manningham, who began her fast Sunday afternoon.

Her mother supports her efforts, but many of her friends wonder if it



Bill Ripley will have any impact, the Grade 10 student said.

Grade 8 student Zach Pickard, 13, will take over from Stephanie Wednesday afternoon. The group pledges to continue the rotating fast for "as long as it takes," Stephanie said.

While fasting, the students consume only of water, tea, juice and vitamin pills — the same diet Ripley follows.

at least two Canadian companies — Lavallin Inc. of Montreal and Inco Ltd. of Sudbury — for their business interests in Indonesia.

Lavallin, Mr. Ripley says, helped co-ordinate a huge West Papua logging concession covering an area equal to half the size of Wales that would have resulted in the forced resettlement of 15,000 people.

That project was eventually abandoned because of pressure from human rights organizations, he said.

And Inco's \$1-billion mining complex investment in the Indonesian island of Sulawesi has destroyed the forests and caused forced resettlement of the people, he says.

Mr. Ripley is also critical of Queen's University for accepting donations from companies such as Inco that he believes support human rights abuses and genocide on the Asian lands.

sing in the Tenagami region of Northern Ontario and against the ARMX military exhibition in Ottawa.

He was arrested at least three times last year in Ottawa and Kingston for various civil disobedience actions. More recently, he was escorted out of a local high school by police after showing up to support a student who wanted to hand out anti-monarchy pamphlets.

"I don't sort of pick and choose protests," Mr. Ripley said. "I tend to have maybe a broader outlook."

"We have to come to terms with our complicity in these crimes, against humanity and against indigenous people."

Mr. Ripley says Canadian businesses set up shop in Indonesia to take advantage of cheap labor, workers who are not allowed to strike, and minimal concern for the environment.

And he is harshly critical of

Hunger

(Continued from Page 1)

lands opened up to the Red Cross, and he wants a freeze on all foreign business operations, which he calls "corporate plunder."

The hunger striker says he'll live on liquids and vitamins until his demands are met. Until then, he's planning to move around Queen's University spreading his message.

Mr. Ripley said he chose a hunger strike because he feels it's a good way for one person to put pressure on the government. But he doesn't want to say how far he's willing to go.

"I think I have it straight in my own mind, but I don't see the point of discussing it all that much," he said.

No stranger to social protest, Mr. Ripley has been active in the fight against low-level military flights over Labrador, as well as the protests against log-

Hunger strike

↑ Kingston Whig Standard

Kingston man protesting Canadian role in cultural 'genocide' on Pacific islands

By MURRAY HOGBEN and JEFF OUTHIT
Whig-Standard Staff Writers

A Kingston man is starving himself to protest what he says is Canadian-supported genocide on two Asian islands halfway around the world.

Bill Ripley launched his hunger strike at midnight. A computer programmer by profession, Mr. Ripley is angry about what's happening to the people of East Timor and West Papua.

Mr. Ripley says the people of

Mr. Ripley says the people are being bombed, starved and forcibly resettled by Indonesia

the two islands north of Australia are being bombed, starved and forcibly resettled by Indonesia, which annexed West Papua in 1963 and invaded East Timor in 1975. More than 300,000 have died, he says.

Canada is directly involved in the genocide, Mr. Ripley says,

because Canadian businesses and government agencies have invested \$1.4 billion in Indonesia.

The social activist has sent External Affairs Minister Joe Clark a long list of demands which he says must be met before he'll end his hunger strike.

Among other things, Mr. Ripley wants Canada to condemn Indonesian military campaigns and call for the withdrawal of troops. He also wants the is-

Please see HUNGER, Page 2

Hunger striker protests genocide in East Timor

BY CELESTE MACKENZIE
The Queen's Journal

In protest against Canada's role in Indonesian acts of genocide in East Timor and West Papua, Bill Ripley, a member of Action for Social Change began a hunger strike Wednesday at Queen's.

According to a press release, Ripley and the group are demanding that "the Canadian government condemn Indonesian crimes against humanity in East Timor and West Papua, and call for the right to self-determination of the Timorese and Papuan peoples."

Ripley said Amnesty International has estimated that 200,000 East Timorese have been killed by Indonesian military forces since East Timor was invaded in 1975.

Ripley, who has been working to raise public awareness of East Timor and West Papua since last year, said human rights violations in East Timor - a former Portuguese colony 400 miles north of Australia - should be of concern to Canadians.

"There's not a lot being said about East Timor. Many people don't even know where Indonesia is," he said, adding that Canada has \$1.4 billion invested in that country, and that Canadian military manufacturers such as Pratt and Whitney have been selling arms to the government.

Ripley has made a number of demands to the Canadian government, including that it call for the right to self-determination of the Timorese and Papuan peoples; that it cease arm sales to Indonesia, and that it condemn Indonesia's birth control program in which women are forced to use dangerous contraceptives and be sterilized, often without their knowledge or consent.

*Queen's Journal
March 9/90*

Hunger strike into second week

Bill Ripley tonight completes the first full week of his hunger strike against Canadian government and business involvement in repression in Indonesian East Timor and West Papua.

He began his hunger strike at midnight last Tuesday evening, and has been surviving on juice, herbal tea and multi-vitamin pills.

Mr. Ripley said yesterday that he feels "fine" and has been buoyed by media interest and by three linked resolutions from a Thursday meeting of Queen's University's undergraduate Alma Mater Society.

The resolutions state that the AMS assembly:

□ supports Mr. Ripley's hunger strike protest against the Canadian government's involvement in Indonesia human rights violations;

□ expresses this support in a release to the media and the Queen's administration; and

□ suggests that in the light of a donation to Queen's by INCO the administration should create a board to review the processing of financial and capital donations being accepted by the university, as well as of investments being made by Queen's.

Mr. Ripley says the people of East Timor and of West Papua, both north of Australia, are being killed or forced to resettle elsewhere by the interests of big business, including some Canadian companies.

*Whig Standard
March 13/90*

82 Kitchener-Waterloo Record, Thurs., April 5, 1990

Local

Prof fights to halt East Timor 'genocide'

By Barbara Aggerholm
Record staff

A Wilfrid Laurier University professor is protesting Canada's involvement with Indonesia in light of what he calls Indonesia's policy of "genocide" against the people of East Timor.

Peter Eglin, associate professor of sociology, is circulating petitions, sending postcards to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and campaigning on campus to draw attention to a critical human rights issue he believes has been ignored.

He is supporting the cause of Bill Ripley, a Kingston man entering the 30th day of a hunger strike today. Ripley is taking vitamins and drinking fruit juice and herbal tea.

"As university people we should be outraged," Eglin said in an interview. "I've been moved by Bill Ripley's own drastic action to get off my behind and do something about East Timor."

Ripley, a computer programmer and member of Action for Social Change in Kingston, is demanding "that the Canadian government condemn Indonesian crimes against humanity in East Timor and West Papua and call for the right to self-determination of the Timorese and Papuan peoples."

The island people have been bombed, starved and colonized by Indonesia since East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and West Papua was annexed in 1963, Ripley said in a press release.

Ripley's demands have received a stern rebuttal from External Affairs Minister Joe Clark who said

Canada "does not shape its foreign policy according to threats."

Eglin, the southwestern Ontario representative of the East Timor Alert Network, said he's horrified by Canada's "complicity" in the problems of East Timor, which consists of a territory on Timor Island, some islets and the enclave of Oecusse in the west. The nearest land mass is Australia.

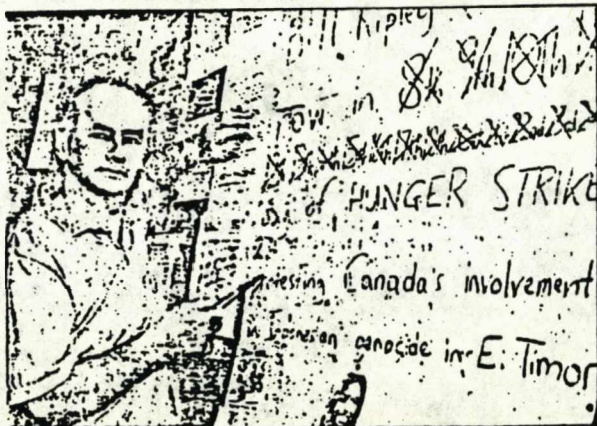
Since Indonesian troops invaded the territory in December 1975, one-third of East Timor's population - about 200,000 people - has died because of killings, bombings and famine, says a February 1990 report from the Canada-Asia Working Group, an inter-church coalition on Asian concerns.

"Various UN bodies, including the General Assembly, have affirmed the right of the East Timorese to a free and fair act of self-determination and have appealed repeatedly for Indonesia to withdraw its occupation forces," the report says.

"Indonesia has consistently ignored international law and the appeals of the international community, and, in July 1976, illegally annexed East Timor. An armed resistance has been carried on since 1975."

"... the experience of East Timor may be justly compared with the worst mass atrocities of the modern era," the Canada-Asia Working Group says.

Detainees in East Timor by Indonesian armed forces have suffered beatings, electric shock, immersion in boiling water, sexual



WLU prof Peter Eglin's posters support Kingston hunger striker Bill Ripley in pushing for action against Indonesia.

Gerry Bookhout, Record staff

abuse and other tortures, the working group says. Entire communities have been "wiped out" in military sweeps, it says.

Eglin said Canadians should be concerned because the country has military, diplomatic and economic links to Canada.

Canadian companies sell arms or arms components to Indonesia directly or indirectly through the United States, Eglin said, adding that the Canadian government hosted an arms show in Indonesia in 1984.

Since 1980, Canada has voted against UN resolutions calling for

the withdrawal of Indonesia and respect for the rights of the East Timorese, Eglin said.

And more than 300 Canadian companies have about \$1.4 billion worth of investment in Indonesia, he said. Canada is the third largest investor in Indonesia, Eglin said.

In a letter to Ripley, Clark said that Canada acknowledges Indonesian control over East Timor, though it doesn't condone the way it was occupied.

The external affairs minister said he restricts the sale of military equipment to Indonesia to items "of a defensive nature."

Assembly votes to encourage screening of donations

BY CELESTE MACKENZIE
The Queen's Journal

The Alma Mater Society Assembly voted at its March 8 meeting to advise the Queen's administration to establish a donations review board to screen potential donations to the university and investments of the university's monies.

Currently, donations — including those from companies doing business in South Africa from which Queen's has divested — are accepted without review, unless they are specifically brought to the attention of the Queen's Board of Trustees Trust Council.

The motion to establish a review board was made following last month's \$1 million dollar donation to the engineering faculty's mining department by Inco, a Canadian

multinational mining company which operates a \$1 billion mine in Indonesia.

Indonesia's military forces have been accused by Amnesty International and other human rights organizations of killing over 200,000 people from the region of East Timor — a former Portuguese colony — since the latter territory was invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

The AMS Assembly also declared support for hunger striker Bill Ripley, protesting both the Indonesian government human rights violations, and of the Canadian government's support for the Indonesian regime. Ripley, a member of Action for Social CHange, began consuming liquids and vitamins the day of assembly meeting.

Stated Ripley in a press release, "Canada has \$1.4 billion invested in Indonesia.... Since 1980, Canada has voted against UN resolutions demanding the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian troops,

Queen's
Journal
March 16

Assembly supports hunger striker

Cont'd from p1

and calling for the East Timorese right to self-determination."

A March 12 AMS press release read, "As students — and citizens of this country — we are privileged to enjoy certain inviolable rights that continue to be cruelly denied to the people of East Timor and West Papua. As such we are morally obligated to speak out on their behalf and against the tacit support that our government continues to give to Indonesia despite its heinous 'development' policies. The Alma Mater Society extends its full support and encouragement to Bill and hopes that the federal government recognizes, and meets his just demands."

In a Wednesday interview, Queen's director of development, John Heney said that although he had heard rumors about the AMS resolu-

tion, it had not yet been formally brought to his attention.

"As far as my involvement concerns, they [administration officials] will probably look to me for advice. As of yet we haven't had any discussions at all."

At Inco, spokesperson Bill Purcell said that he was unaware of the AMS resolution. "All I know is that there is a character there [at Queen's] staging a hunger strike," he said in a Tuesday telephone interview. Later, he said he found it regrettable that "offshore politics" could play a role in whether or not a university chooses to accept a donation.

"The Queen's school of mining has been an important and valuable source of talent for Inco. The gift last month was a consequence of that. It was done in all sincerity," he said, adding that Inco established its mine

at the invitation of the Indonesian government in the early 1970s.

"We have absolutely no involvement in local politics," he said. "We're in the mining business. I have no realization as to what the Canadian government may or may not be doing."

Michael Welsh, deputy director for South-East Asia at the Department of External Affairs, said he hoped Ripley would receive a reply from Joe Clark, Canada's secretary of state for external affairs.

"We have been informed that Mr. Ripley has sent a list of demands. We've seen a copy of the letter and are going over them and are developing a reply which we hope to have ready soon. Under the circumstances, this is a rather pressing case," he said.

in Tangerang (west of Jakarta), 4,000 workers went on strike in September 1982, demanding the minimum wage set by law and full implementation of the labor contract they had concluded in 1977. Not only the local government, but the armed forces, police, Ministry of Labor, and FBSI (All Indonesian Labor Union Federation, later renamed SPSI or All Indonesia Union of Workers) intervened in this dispute. A setting for labor-management talks was set, but the workers were so afraid of being fired that they initially declined to speak. The 35 workers who agreed to serve as the workers' representatives were fired. No severance pay was paid to these workers despite guarantees given by government officials who attended the meetings.

— PT Inco, located in Soroaco in South Sulawesi is a Canadian-financed nickel mining company (Japanese enterprises have also invested in it). This company, founded by big international capital, decided in the middle of September 1982 to dismiss 426 workers, 170 of whom rejected the decision. They did not trust the FBSI, which had participated in the negotiations with the company over the dismissal agreement. The workers chose five representatives and entered into negotiations with the company, and at the same time, occupied the company's office. At this point the armed forces district commander intervened. He stated that the main cause of the problem was that the workers did not sufficiently understand the procedures for worker termination or the Pancasila-based* labor-management relationship.

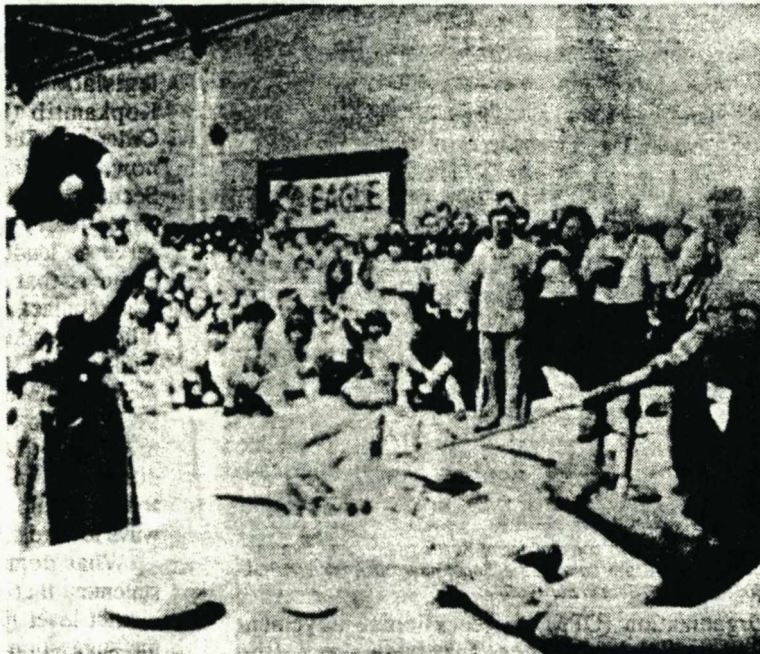
Due to this intervention, the workers found themselves pushed into a position where they had no choice but to accept the dismissals. The final statement made by the military commander read as follows: "We were able to solve this problem thanks to the generosity and tolerance of PT Inco."

The Corporatist-Fascist System

The total number of workers organized in the corporatist labor federation SPSI (organized in 1973, then known as FBSI) is said to be less than 10 percent of Indonesia's total employment (approximately 70,000,000). SPSI not only offered to serve as the flag bearer for the cause of

Pancasila-based labor-management relationship, supporting harmony between labor, management, and the government, but has also been working to "de-politicize" the Indonesian labor movement. One third of the members of the SPSI's present executive committee are members of parliament belonging to the ruling party Golkar, the party that sustains Suharto's rule. Can such a labor federation really defend the basic rights of workers? The chronology includes only a few incidents of suppression of workers' rights, including the dismissal of workers in August 1985 under Minister of Labor Sudomo. This does not indicate that these have been the only cases. There are indications that a large number of cases representing gross infringements of the fundamental rights of workers have gone unreported.

Religious, political, public, journalistic, and



Workers discuss grievances with Labor Minister Sudomo (Tempo, August 22, 1987)

even social and community activities by NGOs are under strict control and regulation by the system based on "Pancasila." Only three political parties are recognized: The ruling party (Golkar), and two opposition parties, the Islam-affiliated PPP

*Note: "Pancasila" is a set of five principles advocated by Sukarno in 1945 as the basic outlook of the Indonesian nation, encompassing faith in God, humanitarianism, nationalism, democracy, and social justice.

Kingston man addresses UN East Timor committee

By JEFF OUTHIT
Whig-Standard Staff Writer

From a hunger strike to the United Nations, Bill Ripley continues to campaign for East Timor.

The 27-year-old social activist travelled to New York this week to speak to a 20-member UN committee that is studying the faraway Asian struggle, among other things.

East Timor is part of a Pacific island north of Australia. The former Portuguese colony was invaded and occupied by neighboring Indonesia in 1975.

Mr. Ripley says the people of East Timor are being bombed, starved, and forcibly resettled by Indonesia. More than 200,000 have died there, he told the UN committee yesterday.

Canada is directly involved in the genocide, Mr. Ripley said, because Canadian businesses and government agencies have invested \$1.4 billion to support Indonesia.

Mr. Ripley staged a six-week hunger strike in Kingston this spring to protest Canadian investment in Indonesia.

The Kingston man spoke to the UN committee for 15 minutes yesterday as a member of

the East Timor Alert Network, a Canadian group set up to monitor human rights on the Pacific Island.

He told the UN committee that it should recommend banning arms sales to Indonesia. He also said the UN should implement economic sanctions against the Asian country similar to those imposed recently against Iraq for its invasion of Kuwait.

The speech went well, he said, but he's not counting on the UN to take strong action right away. "They've already waited 14 years to take any decisive action," Mr. Ripley said.

Mr. Ripley was one of 22 people to speak to the UN committee about East Timor. Others included politicians from Japan, France, Portugal, and Canada, as well as representatives from international human-rights groups such as Amnesty International.

All expressed horror at the East Timor situation. But Indonesia — which sits on the committee and heard all the speeches — later issued a statement "saying it was an internal matter, and none of the business of the United Nations," Mr. Ripley said.

Deserves scrutiny

The United Nations' response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait has been a call for sanctions. Its response to the Indonesian invasion of East Timor more than 14 years ago was somewhat different. The occupation of this former Portuguese colony has cost more than 200,000 lives, according to Amnesty International — one-third of the pre-invasion population.

The UN has passed resolutions calling for the immediate withdrawal of Indone-

sian troops and the right to Timorese self-determination. But as an economic ally to the First World, Indonesia has been spared the threat of sanctions, or even public denunciations of its crime from leaders of the industrialized countries. As an economic ally dependent on First World investment and trade, however, Indonesia is also vulnerable to public scrutiny and discussion of East Timor. It is time, therefore, that we spoke out against this "hidden holocaust."

Bill Ripley, Kingston, Ont.

Kingston Whig-Standard
AUG. 10/90

GlobeMail
Sept 4.90

Stop Canadian complicity

This is an open letter to the Rt. Hon. Joe Clark, minister of external affairs.

I am very saddened by one aspect of Canadian foreign policy, and that is Canadian complicity in the occupation and genocide in East Timor by Indonesia.

East Timor was invaded by Indonesian forces on Dec. 7, 1975. Of a pre-invasion population of almost 700,000, over one third of the East Timorese people have died as a result of the occupation (Amnesty International figures). The military campaign that has been carried out against the civilian population of East Timor has been brutal, involving the aerial bombardment of the countryside with napalm and white phosphorous. This systematic killing can be called genocide. The majority of the surviving Timorese have been relocated to "strategic hamlets" (read "concentration camps") where they are denied fundamental freedoms (of expression, assembly, association and movement) and must endure forced labor and food deprivation. East Timorese exiles and refugees have spoken of executions, disappearances, torture and forced sterilization of women.

West Papua is a territory which was illegally annexed by Indonesia in 1969. The military occupation of that country also continues to this day. The United Nations has repeatedly called for the withdrawal of Indonesian occupation forces and demanded that the East Timorese right to self-determination be respected. Canada, apparently, does not feel that either Indonesian withdrawal or East Timorese self-determination should occur; Canada abstained in the 1975 UN resolution and voted against the 1982 resolution. Thus Canada is on record as supporting the occupation (and thus the associated killings and human rights abuses), and not supporting the right to self-determination. I, as a Canadian citizen, believe this to be an intolerable situation, and demand that the Canadian government immediately call for the withdrawal of Indonesian forces from East Timor and West Papua, and affirm the East Timorese and West Papuan peoples' right to self-determination. Further, I demand that the Canadian government introduce and support such a resolution at the United Nations.

But Canadian complicity goes farther. Indonesia is the largest recipient of Canadian aid outside the Commonwealth. Canada is the third-largest foreign investor in Indonesia (with over 300 companies doing business there). Canadian corporations have been selling military hardware to Indonesia, some of which, no doubt, has been used against the East Timorese and West Papuan peoples. The Department of External Affairs has been actively encouraging such arms sales to Indonesia (as in 1984, when it hosted an arms bazaar in Jakarta promoting the wares of Canadian arms manufacturers).

In light of such linkages, the Canadian government's reluctance to speak out against the Indonesian occupation of East Timor and West Papua is understandable — but not acceptable. For the killings and human rights abuses continue, and will continue until international pressure forces the Indonesian government to withdraw its occupation forces. Canada can use its existing linkages with Indonesia to exert strong pressure on the Indonesian government. Therefore, I demand that the Canadian government suspend all aid to Indonesia until it has withdrawn from East Timor and West Papua, tie future development assistance to Indonesia's human rights performance and stop facilitating the sale of arms to Indonesia until the occupation of East Timor and West Papua has ended.

It is morally unacceptable that Canada should be involved in the occupation and genocide in East Timor, and I trust you, as minister of external affairs, will use your position within the Canadian government to correct this inhuman situation.

Gordon L. Thompson
Kingston

Torture of East Timorese

It has come to my attention that External Affairs Minister Joe Clark has been responding to Bill Ripley's fast by saying that he should eat because there are no longer human rights abuses in East Timor.

On Feb. 20, Amnesty International published a report describing several cases of the detention and torture or ill-treatment of East Timorese student demonstrators during and after incidents on Oct. 12, Nov. 4 and 14, 1989, and Jan. 17, 1990. Previous waves of arrests occurred in October and November of 1988 and between April and June 1989. Amnesty International has learned the names of over 200 East Timorese arrested on these occasions, and has received dozens of reports alleging the torture and ill-treatment of detainees.

This report summarizes evidence of a pattern of short-term detention, torture and ill-treatment. Suspects are usually held in police or military detention centres for periods ranging between a few hours and several weeks, and undergo physical and emotional abuse before being released without formal charge. A minority are held for longer periods, but few are formally charged or tried.

The ill-treatment and torture of these suspected or alleged political opponents of Indonesian rule in East Timor have been a normal and consistent feature of this rule. The forms of torture reported over the years include beating and kicking, burning with lighted cigarettes, electrical shock, crushing the prisoner's foot under the leg of the interrogator's chair, immersion in a tank of water and sexual abuse. Treatment described by recent detainees has included electric shock and systematic beatings.

Torture and other sorts of pressures or inducements are often used by Indonesian military and police authorities in order to extract confessions and information from political detainees. The latter also may be induced to provide information about others in exchange for a release or lighter sentence.

In view of this and earlier reports by Amnesty International, I believe it is incorrect to say that there are no human rights abuses in East Timor.

Darralyn Bonnor
Amnesty International Canadian Section
(ES)

Co-ordinator for
Indonesia and East Timor

KINGSTON WHIG
STANDARD APRIL 12/90

THE SUNDAY DAILY NEWS, AUGUST 19, 1990

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA

Hypocritical claims

To the editor:

There has been a lot of commentary in *The Daily News* suggesting that Canada is acting against the Iraq invasion of Kuwait either out of concern to uphold international law, or to protect the rights of Kuwait's people. Arnie Patterson's column on 'Iraqnaphobia' was an example, while both our PM and our ambassador to the UN are surpassing themselves with such righteous claims.

Let us stop this hypocrisy: we should be acting against this invasion, but the recent history of Canada's votes in the UN have shown that we never support sanctions or military actions against similar invasions that support our interests.

For example, the UN Security Council condemned the bloody invasion and occupation of East Timor by the Indonesians. This invasion caused the death of one third of the population, yet our federal government votes with Indonesia at the UN to deny self-determination, our provincial government condones the terror so that the Trenton steel plant can sell rails to Indonesia, and our local Dalhousie University condones the invasion so that CIDA funds continue to be channeled off to support its academics on Indonesian junkets.

The invasion of Kuwait threatens our oil supply whereas the invasion of East Timor allowed Australian and Canadian oil companies access to ocean floor that by international law belongs to East Timor. Canada is one of the top exporters to Indonesia (including military components) and we are not risking that market just because a tiny country is brutally occupied. Let us not claim respect for law or concern for rights as our reason to act in Kuwait, it is self interest.

W.H. Owen
Halifax

Doesn't seem to matter

The Canadian government never recognized the Soviet annexation of the Baltic states. Recent events in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia have shown that Canada was not wrong to believe in the longevity of the spirited nationalism of the Baltic peoples and in the wrongfulness of the Soviet takeover.

Compare this with our government's acceptance of the brutal Indonesian invasion of East Timor only 15 years ago. That was

accepted as a fait accompli almost immediately and did not in the least impair our warm relations with Indonesia's military government. The invasion was illegal and ruthless and continues to this day, in spite of the valiant resistance of the East Timorese, who continue to lose their lives fighting the invaders. The *Globe and Mail* gave a scant two inches in the back pages

to the bloody suppression of demonstrations during the Pope's visit last year, while the killing of three student demonstrators minutes after they had asked in vain for protection from the visiting U.S. ambassador on Jan. 17 this year in Dili went unreported.

Can it be that the rights of "little brown people" do not matter as much as those of white Europeans?

Or do we just have too many advantageous economic links with Indonesia to care about the East Timorese? Whatever the reason for this hasty acceptance, I can think of none that is creditable to the Canadian government. Its actions continue to be shameful.

Audrey Samson
Halifax

Globe & Mail
Monday
March 26.90

Montreal Gazette Aug. 22, 1990

Our outrage over Iraq shows hypocrisy

The recent outrage expressed by the Canadian government over Iraq's invasion and annexation of Kuwait would be laudable if it did not reveal disturbing hypocrisy.

Since 1975, Canada has financially, diplomatically and militarily supported Indonesia's far more destructive — many would say genocidal — invasion and illegal annexation of East Timor. Yet now Canada earnestly raises international law concerns to condemn Iraq.

Canada's responses to Iraq's and Indonesia's violations of international law tell us a great deal about the way our foreign policy is formulated.

Essentially, the record indicates that if Canada has a significant economic interest in a state that violates international law, such violations will be ignored (or even facilitated) to secure our economic gain.

As Canada runs a healthy trade surplus with Indonesia, and Canadian corporations have significant investments there, Canadian support for the gross human rights and other violations by the Indonesian military dictatorship has followed.

It is truly ironic that the linkage of development assistance to human rights performance — Canada's ostensible policy — was first apparent with Indonesia in the 1960s. In response to Indonesia's confrontation with Malaysia, which violated international law, Canadian food aid was terminated for a two-year period and no new capital projects or commodity shipments occurred in 1965-66.

However, Canada adopted this principled stand since the economic costs were low; the West was not deeply involved in commercial relations with Indonesia.

This situation changed dramatically with Indonesia's bloody 1965 coup and reorientation towards the West. Accordingly, since the coup, while Indonesia's human rights record has deteriorated, Canada's prior linkage ended.

All governments have the obligation to pursue their states' economic interests, yet the issue is: at what point should moral concerns weigh in?

Considering that Indonesia's occupation of East Timor has led to the deaths of more than 200,000 Timorese — one-third of the pre-

invasion population — Canadians may wonder what our government's moral threshold is.

All states should refuse to have any dealings with Indonesia or Iraq that might imply a recognition of the legitimacy of their occupations. If the international community condones the use of force by any nation to expand its territory, other potential aggressors will know they are unlikely to be punished or even inconvenienced for their crimes.

And if the principles of self-determination (in the case of East Timor) or sovereignty (in the case of Kuwait) are set aside in the interests of the strong, against the wishes of the weak, the notion of a body of international law regulating the affairs of all nations without distinction, as domestic law regulates the affairs of individuals, is fatally weakened.

This is why, besides the obvious moral considerations, the cause of East Timor, and not just Kuwait, should be of vital interest to the world community.

JEFFREY RUDOLPH
Montreal

Montreal Gazette
April 18, 1990

Tragedy continues in East Timor

While the tragic plight of East Timor received brief coverage while the pope visited there in 1989, media silence has followed. However, the tragedy continues.

Considering the immensity of the crime perpetrated against East Timor by Indonesia, with significant political, economic and military support from Canada and the United States, it is clear that the level of news coverage is inadequate.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and since that time a brutal occupation has led to the deaths of more than 200,000 East Timorese, one-third of the pre-invasion population, according to Amnesty International and others.

Considering Indonesia's behavior in West Papua — over 100,000 deaths due to military campaigns since the 1963 annexation — events in East Timor were sadly predictable.

In light of the above, it is reasonable to expect that the media would regularly question Canada's extensive support for Indonesia, which includes voting against successful UN resolutions demanding the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian troops, calling for the right of the East Timorese to self-determination and funding to the Indonesian military regime through the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia.

The essential question for Canadians is whether our foreign policy is to be determined by the extent of our financial interest in a country — Canada has significant investments in and trade with Indonesia — or by standards of morality.

JEFFREY RUDOLPH
Montreal

EAST TIMOR A FOOT IN THE DOOR

—by Pat Walsh, August 1989.

On January 1, this year, Indonesia's President Suharto finally overruled his reluctant Generals and opened up East Timor to foreigners. This decision, of course, has nothing to do with allowing the East Timorese greater freedom of association or movement. The motives behind it are partly economic (Jakarta is heavily in debt and hungry for the foreign exchange brought by tourism) and principally political being part of Indonesia's calculated campaign to improve its very poor human rights image and, in particular, to silence the critics who argue that denial of access is part of an elaborate cover-up of the situation in East Timor.

The first Australian to take advantage of the new policy is said to have been an oilrigger from Darwin who happened to be holidaying in West Timor when the opening up announcement was made. I and two colleagues from ACFOA followed in May when the opportunity arose during a visit to the region to make a brief, private visit for one day. We were, it seems, the first Australian NGO representatives to visit since ACFOA was effectively expelled by Indonesia ahead of the 1975 invasion.

Our visit was therefore an emotional experience. Given our long involvement with the issue, it was also spiced with a dash of suspense. Would we get in? What would we learn, if anything?

The answer to the first question was "yes, no problems." Regarding the second, the visit, though very brief, was suprisingly instructive.

Two impressions stand out. The first was our attendance at a Sunday Mass in Dili along with a huge crowd of some 800 East Timorese. The size and deeply reverent demeanour of this congregation confirmed what we had heard, namely that, in their dark night of the soul, the East Timorese have turned en masse to the Church for protection and advocacy. The occasion was also very much an East Timorese affair. The Mass was led by a Timorese priest and was celebrated in their own language of Tetum. Not a batik shirt was to be seen. Despite the overly sombre character of the liturgy, one felt very close to them in that setting, the only act of self-determination permitted by their Indonesian overlords. There was also time to reflect (the ceremony lasted two hours!) that the faith the Timorese have placed in the international church has not been borne out in practice, though there have been some notable exceptions.

A second lasting impression is what one might call, cynically, that of the 'greening' of East Timor. On the Monday morning of our visit, the green uniforms of the Indonesian military were very much in evidence even to the casual visitor. We saw military helicopters in the sky and on the grounds, 15 Indonesian soldiers beating up a colleague in the middle of the road, trucks of armed troops driving up into the mountains, navy craft unloading at the docks.

The most telling scenario, however, was the sight of a unit of Indonesian soldiers, guns held high, working out on a road near one of Dili's markets. As the yelling, sweating, armed men ran down the middle of the road, Timorese walking to the market quietly stepped to the side of the road, eyes down, to let them pass. For me it was a moment of truth; a painful reminder that power does come from the barrel of a gun and the Timorese know it.

The door to East Timor has been unlocked after 14 years. How wide it will open and how far outsiders may venture into the room will only be revealed by testing the decision. One can only hope that among the tourists and opportunists who will undoubtedly make their way there, there will be a healthy representation of the sensitive and well-briefed.

—Reprinted from AWD Newsletter,
October, 1989

THE BEACON, November, 1989.

*Peace Memorial
Melbourne Unitarian Church
Grey St. E Melbourne Victoria 3002*



AUSTRALIAN COUNCIL FOR OVERSEAS AID

(INCORPORATED IN THE ACT)

ACFOA HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICE

124 Napier St. Fitzroy, 3065

Australia. Tel: (03) 417-7605

Memo : re recent visit to Indonesia
To : friends of East Timor
Date : 25 June 1990

5. Indonesian perspectives on East Timor

((Having spoken about East Timor to a range of Indonesian organisations and individuals over the years, I was struck on this occasion by the discernible and positive shift in attitudes on the question (at an NGO level of course).

Those contacted included a number of leading intellectuals, academics, Church people, oppositionists (Petition of 50), students, activists, and Indonesian NGOs.

They demonstrated a grasp of detail, level of concern, preparedness to act and, perhaps most refreshing of all, a relaxation and non-defensiveness of attitude which not only made conversation on the matter thankfully easier but raised for the first time the feasibility of genuine cooperation down the track.

It is important not to overstate this phenomenon. It is not universal, they were talking to a known Timor activist and, in real terms, though Indonesia is enjoying a sort of political Indian summer and expanded free space at the moment, the enormous capacity of the system to clamp down remains fully intact and restrictive of political activity.))

Nevertheless, I feel this shift in perspective is real and important. Given the appropriate circumstances and support, it is potentially a historic turning point in the East Timor issue.

Why this development? A number of factors have contributed such as long-term association with overseas Timor activists, facility with English, travel and so on. In more recent times, however, new elements have come into play such as the much publicised Papal visit to East Timor, travel to East Timor since the opening up (including academic access by the UGM team), interaction with Timorese in Java, and, not least, the glasnost phenomenon I referred to above. The latter, with all its limitations, has had a remarkable transforming effect on the spirit and outlook of many Indonesians most noticeably in the area of freedom of thought and expression and relations with foreigners.

A younger generation is also emerging who are thinking new thoughts and do not necessarily feel the same way about the unity of Indonesia etc. as the passing 45 generation whose chauvinism was shaped during the earlier struggle for independence.

Three implications for Timor work are immediately obvious:

1. Significant reports on East Timor should be translated into Bahasa Indonesia.
2. Indonesia should be a priority for Timor work which means in practice, for example, that East Timorese living in East Timor and Java will need to share information and their concerns with appropriate Indonesians.
3. An Indonesian solidarity network should be established.

Pat Walsh
June 1990

The CIA supplied Suharto with death lists in 1965

While the CIA's links with the Indonesian military leadership in the pre-1965 period are well known and documented, the role of the CIA in the coup and the subsequent massacres has remained shrouded in secrecy. Washington journalist Kathy Kadane interviewed former US embassy officials who reveal for the first time the active support the CIA gave to Suharto's military headquarters in the immediate aftermath of the coup to expedite the murder of up to 5000 public figures.

What follows is the (slightly edited) text of the San Francisco Examiner report, which covered the story more comprehensively than any other newspaper.

The US government played a significant role in one of the worst massacres of the century by supplying the names of thousands of Communist Party leaders to the Indonesian army, which hunted down the leftists and killed them, former US diplomats say.

For the first time, U.S. officials acknowledge that in 1965 they systematically compiled comprehensive lists of communist operatives, from top echelons down to village cadres. As many as 5000 names were furnished to the Indonesian army, and the Americans later checked off the names of those who had been killed or captured, according to U.S. officials.

The killings were part of a massive bloodletting that took an estimated 250,000 lives.

The purge of the *Partai Komunis Indonesia* (PKI) was part of a US drive to ensure that Communists did not come to power in the largest country in Southeast Asia where the United States was already fighting an undeclared war in Vietnam.

Silent for a quarter of a century, former senior U.S. diplomats and CIA officers described in lengthy interviews how they aided Indonesian President Suharto, then army leader, in his attack on the PKI.

A big help to the army

'It really was a big help to the army' said Robert J. Martens, a former member of the US embassy's political

section who is now a consultant to the State Department. 'They probably killed a lot of people, and I probably have a lot of blood on my hands, but that's not all bad. There's a time when you have to strike hard at a decisive moment.'

White House and State Department spokesmen declined to comment on the disclosures.

Although former deputy CIA station chief Joseph Lazarsky and former diplomat Edward Masters who was Martens's boss, said CIA agents contributed in drawing up the death lists, CIA spokesman Mark Mansfield said, 'There is no substance to the allegation that the CIA was involved in the preparation and/or distribution of a list that was used to track down and kill PKI members. It is simply not true'.

Martens, an experienced analyst of communist affairs, headed an embassy group of State Department and CIA officers that spent two years compiling the lists. He later delivered them to an army intermediary.

People named on the lists were captured in overwhelming numbers, Martens said, adding, 'It's a big part of the reason the PKI has never come back'.

The PKI was the third largest Communist Party in the world, with an estimated 3 million members. Through affiliated organisations such as labour and youth groups it claimed the loyalties of another 17 million.

In 1968 the *Washington Post* published an estimate that 500,000 were killed in the purge and the brief civil war it triggered. In a 1968 report, the CIA estimated there had been 250,000 deaths, and called the carnage 'one of the worst murders of the 20th century'.

Approval for the release of the names came from the top US embassy officials, including former Ambassador Marshall Green, deputy chief of mission Jack Lydman and political section chief Edward Masters, the three acknowledged in interviews.

Declassified embassy cables and State Department reports from early October 1965, before the names were turned over, show that US officials knew that Suharto had begun roundups of PKI cadres, and that the embassy had unconfirmed reports that firing squads were being formed to kill PKI prisoners.

Similar to Vietnam

Former CIA director William Colby in an interview compared the embassy campaign to identify the PKI leadership to the CIA's Phoenix Program in Vietnam. In 1965 Colby was the director of the CIA's Far East Division and was responsible for directing US covert strategy in Asia.

'That's what I set up in the Phoenix Program in Vietnam - that I've been kicked around for a lot,' he said. 'That's exactly what it was. It was an attempt to identify the structure of the Communist Party.'

Phoenix was a joint US-South Vietnamese program set up by the CIA in December 1967 that aimed at neutralising members of the National Liberation Front, the Vietcong political cadres. It was widely criticised for alleged human rights abuses.

In 1962, when he took over the CIA's Far East Division, Colby said he discovered the United States did not have comprehensive lists of PKI activists. Not having the lists 'could have been criticised as a gap in the intelligence system,' he said, adding they were useful for 'operational planning' and provided a picture of how the party was organised. Without such lists, he said, 'you're fighting blind'.

Asked if the CIA had been responsible for sending Martens, a foreign service officer, to Jakarta in 1963 to compile the lists, Colby said, 'Maybe, I don't know. Maybe we did it. I've forgotten.'

The lists were a detailed who's who of the leadership of the party of 3

The lists...included names of provincial, city and other local PKI committee members, and leaders of the 'mass organisations' such as the PKI national labour federation, women's and youth groups.



Some survived the purge, but for how long? Long-term political prisoners on death row in Jakarta's Cipinang prison. EDITOR

million members, Martens said. They included names of provincial, city and other local PKI committee members, and leaders of the 'mass organisations' such as the PKI national labour federation, women's and youth groups.

'I know we had a lot more information' about the PKI 'than the Indonesians (sic) themselves', Green said. Martens 'told me on a number of occasions... that the government did not have very good information on the Communist setup, and he gave me the impression that this information was superior to anything they had.'

Malik aide admits CIA links

The lists were turned over piecemeal, Martens said, beginning at the top of the communist organisation. Martens supplied thousands of names to an Indonesian emissary over a number of months, he said. The emissary was an aide to Adam Malik, an Indonesian minister who was an ally of Suharto in the attack on the communists.

Interviewed in Jakarta, the aide, Tirta Kentjana ('Kim') Adhyatman, confirmed he had met with Martens and received lists of thousands of names, which he in turn gave to Malik. Malik passed them on to Suharto's headquarters, he said.

Embassy officials carefully recorded the subsequent destruction of the PKI organisation. Using

Martens' lists as a guide, they checked off names of captured and assassinated PKI leaders, tracking the steady dismantling of the party apparatus, former US officials said.

Information about who had been captured and killed came from Suharto's headquarters, according to Joseph Lazarsky, deputy CIA station chief in Jakarta in 1965. Suharto's Jakarta headquarters was the central collection point for military reports from around the country detailing the capture and killing of PKI leaders, Lazarsky said.

'We were getting a good account in Jakarta of who was being picked up,' Lazarsky said. 'The army had a 'shooting list' of about 4,000 or 5,000 people.'

Detention centres were set up to hold those who were not killed immediately.

'They didn't have enough goon squads to zap them all, and some individuals were valuable for interrogation,' Lazarsky said. 'The infrastructure was zapped almost immediately. We knew what they were doing. We knew they would keep a few and save them for the kangaroo courts, but Suharto and his advisers said, if you keep them alive, you have to feed them.'

'No one cared...'

Masters, the chief of the political

section, said, 'We had these lists' constructed by Martens, 'and we were using them to check off what was happening to the party, what the effect (of the killings) was on it.'

Lazarsky said the checkoff work was also carried out at the CIA's intelligence directorate in Washington.

By the end of January 1966, Lazarsky said, the checked off names were so numerous the CIA analysts in Washington concluded the PKI leadership had been destroyed.

'No one cared, as long as they were Communists, that they were being butchered,' said Howard Feder-spiel, who in 1965 was the Indonesia expert at the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research. 'No one was getting very worked up about it.'

Asked about the checkoffs, Colby said, 'We came to the conclusion that with the sort of Draconian way it was carried out, it really set them' - the Communists - 'back for years.'

Asked if he meant the checkoffs were proof that the PKI leadership had been caught or killed, he said, 'Yeah, yeah, that's right,... the leading elements, yeah.'

Kathy Kadane is a former investigator with the foreign affairs committee in the US Congress and now works as a reporter for the States News Service in Washington. Inside Indonesia thanks Kathy Kadane and the San Francisco Examiner for this report.

They didn't have enough goon squads to zap them all, and some individuals were valuable for interrogation.



Support our Appeal for \$ 3,000.



OUR MESSAGE.....We believe that Canadians have a special responsibility to support the struggle of the people of East Timor because our government is giving generous aid to the military regime of Indonesia that oppresses the Timorese.

OUR AIMS.....to stop arms and military equipment sales to the government of Indonesia.

to change the vote of the Canadian government at the United Nations to one of unqualified support for the independence of East Timor.

to force the Canadian government and the Canadian International Development Agency to put human rights criterion on all bilateral and multilateral aid going to Indonesia.

OUR WORK.....to publish a regular newsletter.

to design education kits on Indonesia for schools and development education centers.

to support actions of groups and individuals that bring public attention to the plight of East Timor.

to publish open letters in newspapers demanding the Canadian government change its policy to one of support for E. Timor independence.

to send delegates to the United Nations to support the right of the Timorese to self-determination.

We rely on the generosity of our members and supporters. All labour is volunteer. Without your help we could not continue. WE THEREFORE NEED YOUR HELP!

PLEASE SUPPORT OUR APPEAL FOR \$3,000. DONATE & GIVE GENEROUSLY.

Sincerely yours,
coordinator ETAN

Draft Open Letter - This is only a draft

Proposed Release Date: November 28/90 (15th anniversary of independence)

You either believe in freedom or you don't. We believe.

In 1975, just ten days after gaining its independence from Portugal, the southeast Asian island of East Timor was invaded by neighbouring Indonesia. As soon as the Indonesian soldiers arrived, they began slaughtering the inhabitants. Since then, 250000 people, over a third of the population, have lost their lives.

For reasons we don't completely understand, the Canadian government supported Indonesia at the United Nations and in the marketplace. Fifteen years later, the Indonesian army continues to occupy East Timor. We think the Canadian government should end its support.

The Canadian government says East Timor will never be free. It says that after fifteen years, the people and the land belong to Indonesia. We believe people belong to themselves and the land belongs to those who live on it.

For a long time, people believed that Eastern Europe would never be free. The Canadian government adopted the same attitude to Romanian dictator as it does to the generals who rule Indonesia. But times change.

We ask all Canadians to join us in telling the Canadian government to

- Support the call of the Bishop of East Timor for a referendum on the country's future
- Ban the sale of military equipment to Indonesia
- Condemn the Indonesian transmigration and assimilation programmes aimed at destroying the indigenous Timorese culture
- Speak out for human rights by joining the European Community and the majority of the United Nations in calling for a free East Timor
- Provide humanitarian aid to East Timorese refugees and fight for the free access of the International Red Cross and other non-governmental organizations

Signed by: Jane Doe, Emma Goldman, Jo Peacenik, Mr X,

Paid for by the East Timor Alert Network, PO Box 354, Ladysmith BC, V0R 2E0, (604) 245 3068.

[Alternatively, only list support for Belo's referendum proposal]